241 433 Such costs could be avoided if intensive farming measures were emphasized, internal markets developed, and these in turn linked to China through a network of transport.

II. The Communist Period

241 *668 ### A. General Outline of Communist Policy for Agriculture in the Northwest

The pattern of Chinese Communist agricultural policy for this region is similar to what has emerged in China. The only differences have been in the timing and pace of reform policies which stem from the varying political, economic, and geographic conditions of the Northwest.

[423] When the People's Liberation Army had occupied the Northwest, land reform on a regional scale commenced. By 1951 land reform was completed in areas with an agricultural population of seven million; rents were reduced in areas with an agricultural population of ten million. (Current Background, No. 141, November 27, 1951. General Chang Chih-chung on Development in the Northwest. p. 14.) Immediately upon completion of the land reform, concerted efforts were launched to increase the agricultural and livestock production of the Northwest through cooperativization; by establishing mutual aid teams and then combining these into agricultural producer cooperatives where land, farm implements, and livestock are pooled. The ultimate objective of the Chinese Communists is to cooperativize all agriculture in the Northwest, and through a network of such cooperatives, concentrate on raising productivity by expanding cultivation, sowing with better types of seeds, and using more advanced tools and farming methods. Cooperativization is taking place in villages and oases, and steps have been taken to establish state farms in regions where there are large tracts of reclaimed land.

241 311 185 *668 Survey teams were sent out to determine what land might be reclaimed and cultivated. Upon the estimates of these teams, units of the army went out to reclaim the land. Because most of the land surveyed was desert, the construction and extension of irrigation works, the building of reservoirs, the setting up of irrigation pumps to pump the water through newly-dug canals over the desert had to begin at almost the same time.

311 185 *668 288 439 [248] Some progress has been made in extending cultivation and planting cotton by reclaiming waste land. Communist planning is ambitious and in future five year plans, they intend to make the province of Shensi a textile processing area to which Sinkiang and other areas in the Northwest will ship their cotton. In this way, it is hoped to ultimately make the entire region self-sufficient in textile production. Textile factories are being erected in Sinkiang too for the purpose of processing cotton produced there, and it is already reported that some cotton cloth is being shipped to the U.S.S.R.

668 669 578 So-called counter-revolutionary elements were reported to have operated in several provinces. In Hopei, the public security organs uncovered several cases of "I-kuan-tao" sabotage. The "I-kuan-tao" are supposed to be remnants of KMT officers and several sects like the "Golden Line". These elements had operated in Kansu, Shensi, and Inner Mongolia. They usually recruited former prisoners who had been in Chinese Communist prisons. These elements were supposed to have wormed their way into economic enterprises, rural mutual aid, and co-ops to engage in sabotage. They are blamed for fabricating rumors, and during the unified purchase of grain, they are supposed to have instigated the peasants to put aside grain and not send their surplus to the State.

668 659 433 248 Another major problem is the assessment of cotton output and the fixing of cotton purchase quotas. What the state does with commercial crops, as it does with nearly all rural produce now, is to send teams out to each household and estimate what the output, consumption, and surplus will be. The amount to be purchased is determined on the basis of these findings. Once this data is collected and examined, other items can be planned such as the amount of thread to be spun, the textile output that will result, and how much cotton cloth can be made available to the rural areas. It is very important, then, that the initial surveys to determine the available surplus that may be purchased by the State be correct in order to fulfill other portions of the plan. If incorrect estimates are made; i.e., lower estimates of output allowing peasants to retain excessive quantities of cotton, this would promote the growth of rural capitalist elements who might carry on speculative activities by selling their surplus cotton at a higher price than offered by the State. The Chinese Communists blamed two factors for incorrect assessments of cotton output; the incorrect ideological approach of cadres and their poor survey methods. In the latter case, some cadres, because they were unpopular among the peasants, thought it advisable to make slightly lower estimates of cotton output. In other villages, local cadres wished, by making lower estimates, to keep an extra supply of cotton for themselves or for their relatives and neighbors. In regard to defective working methods, the cadres did not carry out their estimation of output by first propagating Communist policy and mobilizing the masses; they made investigations without the assistance of the peasants and encountered difficulty in deriving the true output.

If inaccurate estimates of peasants' cotton production are made, it will also have a direct effect on peasants activity for mutual aid and cooperation and will hinder the unity between organized and individual peasants. It seems that the difficulties of estimating cotton output were widespread in Shensi and had given rise to peasant resistance of Communist agricultural

policies. Such resistance is revealed in instances where wheat fields have been enlarged at the expense of cotton cultivation. Any failure to carry out the State's purchasing plans correctly ...en, will "undermine the prestige of the party and of state policies, encourage spontaneous capitalist tendencies among the peasants, and throw State plans into confusion." (Survey of China Mainland Press. No. 971. Supplement, January 19, 1955. "Make Accurate Estimates of Cotton Output and Fix Purchase Quotas.") Since the publication of this article on estimating cotton output and fixing purchase quotas, Peking has encouraged the "three fix policy" which is a measure designed to overcome food and agricultural raw material shortages in order to meet the planned targets set by the State. This policy provides for every administrative body throughout China to fix the production, fix the purchase of output, and fix the marketing of this output for the agricultural sectors of the Chinese economy. Undoubtedly this policy has been rigorously applied to the Northwest. Information is not available, however, as to whether the "three fix policy" has solved the above problems.

4. Kansu

The Communists have made strenuous efforts to restore Kansu to its former prosperity (in the days of the old Silk Road to Europe Kansu was a fertile and prosperous region). The plan to build Lanchow, the capital, into an industrial base safely removed from the seac oast, the opening of the Lanchow-Sinkiang Railway, and the extensive geological surveys for minerals and oil, indicate recent attempts to do this. On March 14, 1956, Deputy K'o Shih-king reported on the province's five year plan. Only information pertaining to agricultural progress and policy will be considered. The total output of grain and cotton in 1956 will be 10,350 million catties (207 million bushels) and 250,000 piculs (16,662 tons) respectively, representing 124.42 per cent (or 6,882,750 tons of grain) and 281.87 per cent of the quotas set for 1957 in the first five year plan. Afforestation will be carried out over an area of 5,300,000 mou (806,061 acres). (Union Research Service. Vol. 3, No. 3, April 10, 1956. p. 40.)

A comparison of Communist output figures with those of the pre-Communist period is difficult. Since we cannot consider wheat only as grain (grain in this case would include corn, barley, millet, etc.) We possess no figures for oil seed bearing crops for 1956. However, for cotton, where Communist resources have been invested to expand cotton production and output, the 1956 figure of 16,662 tons as compared with the 1941 high of 3,712 tons represents around a fourfold increase.

The Chinese Communists predict that the vast areas of wasteland in Kansu will be transformed into cotton fields soon. Experts have been experimenting, it is reported, to select the most

suitable cotton strains for sowing and the best methods of irrigation for the large-scale cultivation of cotton in the province. 17,000 hectares (42,907 acres) are now being surveyed in the Kansu corridor and the vast plains along the Yellow River in Northwest China for future establishment of mechanized state farms. Altogether, the corridor and the plain are estimated to have over 650,000 hectares (1,616,150 acres) of wasteland. In 1954, it was found tnat the greater part of 200,000 hectares (494,200 acres) of wasteland surveyed was suitable for cotton; three new mechanized state farms have been set up so far there.

Some of the information available on agricultural policy in Kansu deals with the area around Lanchow, where there is some suburban farming, and the development of cooperatives in the Wu-chung Hui Nationality Autonomous Chou of Kansu Province (from a speech by Ma Teng-ai delivered on July 22, 1955, to the National People's Congress). Discussion of these areas will not give us a complete picture of the progress or difficulties in agricultural development but they will indicate the trend of agriculture in Kansu.

In Lanchow, it was reported that the landlord class and "feudal" exploitation of the peasants in the suburban areas had been abolished. 15,112 mou (2,297 acres) of land had been confiscated and distributed among 20,400 peasants who possessed no land or very little. Production and livelihood materials were also distributed among these peasants. So far, seven vegetable and agricultural producer co-ops and 606 mutual aid teams are in existence in the suburban areas. These included roughly 32.46 per cent of the peasant households; expanding agr cultural production to meet the daily growing needs for vegetables in the city has been stressed. By fall of 1956 it is planned to have eighty-three per cent of all agricultural rural households in the suburbs, in agricultural producer co-ops. Two socialist vegetable producer co-ops will be established. Future emphasis will be on the expansion of vegetable farms, orchards, and development of poultry and pig rearing.

The city of Lanchow has grown greatly in the past five years with the influx of troops, technicians, laborers, and their families. It is questionable whether agriculture in the surrounding areas can have maintained this population growth. This would imply that some food would need to have been shipped from China.

There have been some difficulties in developing co-ops and mutual aid teams, as in other parts of the Northwest. Planned purchases and marketing of food, extremely critical in this neighborhood since the urban life of Lanchow rests upon these marketing procedures, have not been carried off successfuly and have slowed up cooperativization. There has been evidence of bureaucratization, lack of class responsibility toward the poor and middle peasants, and a lack of serious study and investigation of conditions.

*668 491 198 Sinkiang and Outer Mongolia have been re-opened for traffic. (See section Communications.) With these improvements in transportation, it is only logical to assume that trade in the Northwest must also have increased in volume.

*668 198 433 [315] [288] Another important change is the increase of production of the Yumen Oil Field and the establishment of four new textile factories in Shensi (for details see section Industry). Although there is no information on the distribution of these products, it is reasonable to assume that most of them are intended for the consumption in the Northwest. If this is the case, the import of [439] textiles and kerosene, which were two of the most important items of the imports of this region, must have been reduced.

*668 198 • 248 [439] [439] Still another important change is the enlargement of cotton plantations in Sinkiang. It is reported that the China Cotton, Yarn and Cloth Company in Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region plans to send five thousand tons of cotton to other parts of the country in addition to ensuring an adequate supply for local consumption. On November 3, 1955, the first cargo of cotton of Sinkiang was dispatched to Shensi for its textile industry.

B. Government Control

*668 655 43 The Communist control of trade in the Northwest is more or less the same as that in other parts of the country. The main instrument of control is the state trading companies, which are in charge of wholesale trade and, together with the various cooperatives and mobile trading units, purchase of native products from this region. According to Communist reports, the six basic commodities in Sian, i.e., food, cotton cloth, edible oil, coal, tea and salt, have been fully monopolized by the state trading companies since June 29, 1955; and all private wholesale establishments dealing with those goods have been liquidated. More than one hundred members of the "capitalist side" were sent to reform camps, and the store assistants were either employed by the state trading companies or sent back to their native places to seek other employment. In the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region, the number of branches of state trading companies exceeded five hundred in 1954, about eight times as many as in 1950. They provide the people there with general merchandise, cotton cloth, oil and fats, petroleum, pharmaceuticals and stationary.

Aside from supplying goods on the wholesale level, the state trading companies have also undertaken to buy goods from this region. Among the goods bought in 1950 are: (1) wool, 23,000 catties, (2) hides, 800,000 pieces, (3) intestines, 1,270,000 pieces, (4) bristles, 280,000 catties, (5) tung oil, 4,500,000 catties, (6) medical herbs, 4,000,000 catties, (7) cotton, 800,000 piculs and (8) grain, 130,000,000 catties (cf. The Native Products of the Northwest, preface, Sian, 1951).

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

487 Ch'a Chen is a village on the river, already in the district of Hsihsiang, which is an extended one. Here the
133 track, leaving the river, ascends a glen to the S.W., and after reaching a height of about a thousand feet above the Han runs westwards along a mountain slope, with a steep wooded range trending east and west on the left hand, and a series of spurs with intervening glens falling away to the Han on the right. Thirty-five li from Ch'a Chen the path descends some 500 feet to a village lying in the valley of a stream which issues from a gorge in the mountains to the south and flows north towards the Han, and then continuing westwards over another of the lateral ridges descends into a maze of wooded hills and gullies, leaving the mountains to the south out of sight. After two to three hours' march through these hills the trail ascends again to emerge on the top of bare downs, whence there is a fine view over Hsihsiang and the valley plain of the Muma Ho some 500 feet below. After descending into this plain, the Hsuan Ho, issuing from a gorge in the mountains to the south, is forded, and ten li further on, after rounding a low spur separating this stream from the Muma Ho and fording the latter, the district city of Hsihsiang is reached. This is a long day's march of 100 li.

361 Hsihsiang, the capital of a second class district, lies in another of the fertile valley plains of the Han basin, that of the Muma River. This valley runs from S.W. to N.E. and is here some miles broad. To the south a rocky range of mountains rises some thousands of feet above the plain towards the Szechuan border, and to the north are bare hills separating the valley from the Han. The district is one of the wealthiest in Southern Shensi, though these compare unfavourably, in spite of their apparently greater prosperity, as regards land tax receipts with many of the Wei valley districts, such as Weinan, Lint'ung, P'uch'eng, etc., owing, it is said, to much of the newly reclaimed land in the mountains not being on the old registers. A good deal of
[248 438] silk is produced. This Han valley silk is inferior to the Szechuan product, but is good enough to send to Kansu in exchange for the skins, furs, musk, deer-horns, and medicines of that province. Hsihsiang is also noted as the home of many famous literati and officials, and we were

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Hanchung, now officially known by the name of the district as Nanch'eng, is a first class Hsien, and is one of the three or four wealthiest and most populous cities in the province. It lies in the centre of the rich cigar-shaped plain of the Han valley, surrounded by mountains, and in its situation and general appearance much resembles a smaller edition of Chengtu in Szechuan. Two crops, wheat followed by rice, are regularly raised on the plain. A considerable quantity of silk is also produced and some cotton. The situation of Hanchung in the centre of the most fertile region in the province and at the point of intersection of four trade routes, south to Szechuan, west to Kansu, north to the Wei valley, and east down the Han to the coast, has made it a considerable trade centre. For the same reason it has always been one of the richest and most important likin stations in the province, where the Chinese officials, as elsewhere, do their best to throttle the transit trade and kill the goose which lays the golden eggs by the excessive imposition of dues and tolls. There are few more lucrative offices in the province than that of Superintendent of the Hanchung Likin.

Hanchung is the administrative capital of the upper Han basin, and is the seat of a Taoyin and a Chenshoushih. The position of the former is that of Civil Superintendent of the magistrates in his jurisdiction. It is nowadays less important than it was in the days of the Manchus. Since the abolition of the hierarchical system of Tao, Fu, Chou, and Hsien, the territorial administration is entirely in the hands of the district magistrates acting directly under the Civil Governor of the province. Thus the magistrates correspond directly with the Governor and send copies of their despatches and reports to the Taoyin, so that the latter is short-circuited and the abolition of the post is sometimes advocated as being superfluous. Under the old system the Hsien reported to the Chou, the Chou to the Fu, the Fu to the Tao, and the Tao to the Governor, each being responsible for the acts of his subordinate. The position of Chenshoushih is that of a General with powers of military administration. At the present time, when things are more or less unsettled and the military rule the roost, a Chenshoushih often has powers which amount practically to those of an independent

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Hsingshih Chen, a busy place where much of the commerce of P'uch'eng district is carried on. Fup'ing, another important first class district city, lies in a depression in the loess plain caused by the shallow valley of a stream which provides irrigated lands of the richest kind. We chanced to be travelling this trail at a time when political affairs were in a more than usually chaotic state and the authority of the officials more than usually relaxed, and we had been strongly advised not to follow this route owing to the alleged large and turbulent populations of P'uch'eng and Fup'ing, who are said to be noted for their independence and love of managing their own affairs (*P'u Fu jen to, pei hsing pu an*, as one member of our party kept repeating); but, as almost everywhere else on our travels, we found the people perfectly friendly.

From Fup'ing to Sanyuan should be an easy march of 60 li; but the rains had now suddenly broken and it was an arduous day ploughing through the loess mud, which has a peculiar slimy character of its own, rendering progress whether on foot or on horseback dreadfully slow. The trail runs S.W. for a few li across low-lying land, apparently the valley of the Yao Chou River, which was largely under cotton, and then continues for 20 li across a wheat-growing plateau to the boundary of the two districts. Here there is a steep drop through a loess cutting into a level plain across which the track runs for the rest of the way to Sanyuan.

Sanyuan, the centre of a second class district, is one of the largest and most important cities in the province, though this is not saying much. Commercially it is an annex to Hsian Fu, much of the commerce which really belongs to the latter being transacted here to avoid the official exactions of the provincial capital. For the same reason most of the trade to and from Kansu passes through Sanyuan. During recent years it has played an important part in the various rebellions and other political events which have so disturbed the province, and its trade has therefore been for the moment destroyed. The city lies on a level loess plain, and is bisected by a stream flowing in a deep rift, which is spanned by a fine stone bridge; the southern portion contains the shops and life of the place, the northern being mostly empty. Cart roads radiate in all directions across the plain.

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

thoroughly sound and sensible policy. The conversion of the Chinese is a tough proposition; but there is a far tougher one confronting the missionary in the North West, and that is the conversion of the Mahomedans and Tibetans in Kansu. The Chinese is apathetic towards Christianity, while keeping an open mind towards any aspect of it which may be turned to his material advantage. The Tibetan or Mahomedan on the other hand is usually not at all apathetic, but very actively hostile towards any attempt to convert him.

From Sanyuan to Hsian Fu is a day's march, called 90 li by the Chinese owing to the passage of the two rivers which occupies an hour or so, and is therefore considered the equivalent of 10 li. For us it was a long slow march, floundering through the mud in pouring rain. The road runs due south across the plain, the pagoda of the village of Ch'ingyang T'a being a prominent landmark for the first 30 li. A few li beyond this village the Ching Ho is reached and crossed by a cart ferry, and another 15 li across a low table-land of loess dotted with the curious tumuli, some from fifty to one hundred feet high and said to be the tombs of ancient kings, brings one to the Wei River, varying from a few hundred yards to a mile in width according to the season, and crossed by a cart ferry. These plains along the Wei and Ching rivers are the great cotton-growing areas of Central Shensi. Cotton has always been a staple crop of the province, and is one of the principal exports. It is now being grown more extensively than ever and is being bought up for export by the Japanese. The soil and climate appear well suited to its cultivation, and there seems to be no reason why its quality should not be improved by scientific methods, nor why there should not be a big cotton spinning industry in Hsian and the neighbourhood. As it is the Japanese buy the cotton, take it to Japan to spin, and then return it to the Chinese in the form of yarn.

We found the Wei River in flood and had a hard time crossing it. The ferry took us over the main stream, but two branches in flood had to be forded with the water up to the ponies' bellies and running like a mill race. One of the carts accompanying us, containing the baggage of the soldiers, apparently drove into a hole and disappeared except for its hood; we were too much occupied at the time with our own

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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first time, foreign onions, which were large and of a very good quality. Homespun cotton materials were also to be bought, as this district,[1] unlike many others, produces a very fair cotton crop, which the men spin, and weave by hand on primitive looms. Kaotai also supplies a very superior kind of anthracite, which when burnt in a brazier is practically smokeless, giving off intense heat for hours; its fumes, however, are unpleasant to those unaccustomed to them.

From Kaotai there are two roads to Suchow, used alternately according to the season of the year; we took on this occasion the upper one following the foot of the Richthofen Range, where, between the oases, tracts of coarse gritty sand are found overlaid with small black pebbles, which presented an excellent and firm surface for our carts.

The first stage in this direction brought us to the ruined city of Camel-Town, an ancient settlement, dating from the time when North-West Kansu was under the sway of great Mongolian chiefs. Tradition has it that this was the centre from which King To-lo, probably a ruler during the time of the Mongol supremacy which terminated about the middle of the fourteenth century, controlled his tribe.

This was the first of the large buried cities we had yet seen, and interested us greatly. The massive clay walls of the enclosure still stood, showing the extended area once inhabited, but now the only building not completely ruined was a temple, with a lean-to of one room, in which lived an old man and his wife. It was an isolated spot, bearing a bad name for brigandage, and no carter spends the night there willingly. We had arrived late in the afternoon, having started early in the morning, so we had declared our fixed determination to get a night's rest here at any price. While

[1] [Kaotai -- Analyst]